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The Reuther Victory: A New Turning Point For The CIO

The victory of Walter P. Reuther, which brought the president of the United Auto Workers to head the Congress of Industrial Organizations, marks a new turning point for that organization.

The Reuther victory over Executive Vice-President Allan Haywood will put the CIO, for the first time since its founding, completely on its own. Reuther, and those closest to him, are products of the CIO, having participated in its earliest organization drives, and having lived their trade union lives fully within the orbit of CIO activity.

Unlike Haywood and other leaders of the United Steel Workers union, Reuther and his colleagues have had very little background in traditional AFL politics, and as workers who have come out of a socialist milieu, they have been ready to experiment more boldly in political activity than older labor leaders.

The ascension of Reuther to the CIO presidency coincides with the beginning of a period when the CIO, for the first time in its history, cannot count on having a direct line to the White House. Hitherto the official political protege of the New Deal and Fair Deal administrations, the CIO has been supplanted by the AFL in the Eisenhower administration.

The appointment of Martin Burke as Secretary of Labor by Eisenhower is an attempt on the part of the Republican Party to build its own labor support and set up, as a possible secondary advantage, a roadblock to unity between the two organizations.

The advantages of such a merger, at present, lie almost wholly with the AFL, and its new president, George Meany, was quick to suggest early meetings with the CIO to canvass ways of achieving organic unity, offering to step aside personally if such a step would be conducive to successful negotiations. To meet this offer, Reuther in turn, as almost his first official act, offered to make a similar sacrifice.

UNITY MEETING DUE
It is a little difficult to conceive, however, that such meetings will result in quick achievement of unity, largely because the CIO, after the first convention which saw a fight develop over the presidency, was hardly an organization dedicated to unity within. The most impressive part of the gathering was the undercurrent of feeling that, in the next period in American political life, only under the kind of energetic, intelligent and imaginative leadership of which Reuther is capable will it be possible for the CIO to forge ahead.

The fact that such trade union leaders as Emil Rieve, president of the Textile Workers, and James Carey, CIO secretary-treasurer, who had close ties with the Murray-Haywood administration, backed Reuther is indicative of the feeling that the militancy of the CIO will be essential to its continued progress. Similarly, the smaller union with which Haywood was in close contact as organizational

director, resisted Haywood's attempt to cash in politically on the fact that he had been responsible for the distribution of CIO organizational funds.

In defeat—by a vote of 3,079,181 to 2,613,103—Haywood did succeed in obtaining limitations on the power of the CIO president, which had been unchecked during the reign of John L. Lewis and Philip Murray. Under changes in the constitution, the executive vice-president, hitherto an appointive official, will be elected by the convention; and bi-monthly meetings of the executive officers—president, executive vice-president, secretary-treasurer and vice-presidents—are required, while full executive board meetings must take place every three months, rather than twice a year.

The intense politicking, which extended to all hours of the night in hotel rooms, left little time for consideration of political or economic issues. Governor Stevenson, defeated Democratic candidate, received a warm reception, and delegates listened to an analysis of the election results by Jack Kroll. Neither offered a clue as what changes in political outlook might be required by labor as a result of the defeat suffered in the 1952 campaign.

In all likelihood, there will be no major upheavals or startling moves initiated by Reuther in the early months of his tenure unless such steps are demanded by an anti-labor drive or a major recession. However, the background against which Reuther will operate was indicated by his acceptance speech, which received little notice in the press.

Excerpts from the talk follow:

Our enemies have been watching the proceedings of this convention from the cocktail bars of the Union League clubs and the millionaires' clubs all over America. Reading the stories in the press of the division in CIO has filled their hearts with hope, filled their minds with designs to take us on if we are divided, drive us back and rob us of our hard won social and economic gains.



WALTER REUTHER

I say to the men who sit on the plush cushions in the Union League clubs of America, I say this for you who are delegates, and I say it for the millions of CIO members back home, that the fat men on the plush cushions are wrong. We are not going to go out of here divided; we are going to go out of here united to carry on this struggle until we win.

In the halls of government we shall speak with one voice. We shall stand together at the collective bargaining tables, doing the practical work on the bread and butter front, and when the reactionary managements are unwilling to give the workers of America through collective bargaining in good faith their just rewards, I say we shall exhaust every means of resolving these issues across the bargaining table through the use of logic and reason, but, failing to get economic justice through that process, we shall march together on the picket lines of America getting what is rightfully ours.

THE JOB AHEAD

There are many practical jobs ahead, jobs that will test the best that is in all of us. There is the job of organizing the unorganized. No union, no movement that rests upon past achievements will have the drive

and the energy and the power without which we cannot succeed. We have to recapture the crusading spirit we had in the early days, and we have to take on some of the areas of the unorganized and begin to do the kind of job that I know we are capable of doing if we pull together in the days ahead. But, the job is more than just organizing the unorganized.

We have to give our members a sense of participating in a great human crusade. We have to make them conscious of the fact that the free labor movement for the first time in the history of human civilization is trying consciously to give direction to the shape of history. We are trying to participate in the great social changes that are taking place in the world in which we live.

When you belong to a union, when you understand where we are going and how we hope to get there, what tools free people have to use in the building of that better world that we dream about, then you have the satisfaction of knowing that as a free human being you have something to say about the kind of tomorrow that your children will grow up in. Until we do a better job of educating and unionizing the people whom we have organized, we will not have mobilized the real potential power and strength of our great free labor movement.

THE POLITICAL JOB

We have got a big job in terms of political action. This is no time to hang crepe in terms of the political outlook. We lost the election. It was disappointing but it was not disastrous. Look at the centers in which we had CIO membership and you will find that in those centers our people came through with flying colors.

I say that the great challenge ahead is to lift the level of political morality in Washington on the part of the politicians, but you cannot raise the level of political morality in Washington until you first raise the level of political conscience on the part of the people back home, and that is the job we have got to look at.

We have to build. We have to organize. We have got to educate on the political front, because the kind of labor movement that we are building cannot supply the answers to the many complex social and economic problems solely at the bargaining table. Therefore let us determine not to do less but to do more on the political front.

I take no credit in a personal sense for the fact that I am a trade unionist. I was raised in a trade union family. My father was the international representative of the Brewery Workers Union. He was president of the Central Trades and Labor Assembly in our home town when he was 23 years old. We got trade unionism, we got the struggle and the hopes and aspirations of working people every day.

I was raised in the kind of trade union atmosphere that said to me when I was a boy that a trade union movement based upon principles of pure and simple trade unionism could not adequately deal with the complex problems of the working people in the world in which we live. Our labor movement is a labor movement which integrates our efforts with the efforts of the whole people to move ahead in finding a practical and democratic solution to the complex problems that beset us.

THE COMMUNIST THREAT

The Communists say, "If you want to eat, give up your freedom so you can have bread." The reactionaries would have us believe that if you want to be free you have to be insecure. And we say to both the Communists and the reactionaries, "You are both wrong." In the world that we are going to build you can have both bread and freedom.

You see, man is an economic being. He has to have food and clothing, housing and medical care and all of the other material needs, and we struggle to make that possible. But man is more than just an economic being. He is a spiritual being, and just as food is needed for the economic man so the spiritual man needs food, and freedom is the food of the soul.

The great challenge in the world is to find a way so that man can so arrange the relationship of one to the other within one society, and one nation to another in the world society, so that we can live at peace and harness the power of technology and exploit our resources and translate that into a good life for everyone.

This struggle in the world between freedom and tyranny, between democracy and Communism, is a struggle for men's minds and their hearts and their loyalties. It cannot be won on the battlefields. It can only be won on the economic and social field in the struggle for human justice.

Europe's New Economic Dilemma

By CHARLES TAIBI

(Charles Taibi is engaged in labor research and writing. He has been a frequent CALL contributor.)

The nature of the current economic problems of the nations of the world makes it clear that the catch-words of the postwar period will provide no solutions and that, probably, any attempt to rely on them will be dangerous.

The basic fact is that these problems are difficult to understand. In the postwar period, it has seemed as though crisis has followed crisis even though everything that was supposed to solve each crisis was done. Only quite late in the day has the new determining factor in each crisis been discerned.

The significance of this fact for the future is quite clear when we consider the fact that there has been a change of administration in the United States, because the change will mean a shift of emphasis in the field of foreign aid policy along two main lines:

(1) There will be little inclination to accept participation in the execution of remedial policies which require increases in foreign aid provided by the United States.

(2) There will be rejection of proposals for participation in remedial schemes which the other nations say are necessary because of the effects of policies of the United States.

STATE OF WORLD ECONOMY

The latest comprehensive survey of world economic conditions made by the Department of Economic Affairs of the United Nations* and subsequent progress reports indicate that the main problem is substantially the same in all advanced nations other than the United States, but that it is different in the under-developed countries, all of whom, however, face the same main problem.

1. In the advanced countries, the problem of raising production has repercussions in terms of the magnitude of the balance of payments problem, which in its turn affects the course of production policy. Hence, policy must be directed toward securing greater production and minimizing the balance of payments disequilibrium. Both will require the existence of appropriate policies for American economic aid and American participation in some phases of international economic planning.

2. In the under-developed countries, the problem is somewhat the same, with the difference being that production cannot be increased substantially without the importation of considerably more capital than in the past, a process which is complicated and slowed by the fact that these countries are not yet always certain of the magnitude of the sums required and the types of capital equipment for which these sums are to be expended. An additional factor in the current situation has been the serious disequilibrium in the balance of payments of most of these countries caused by the wide fluctuations in the prices of raw materials which they produce, a situation which is now being set right and which need not happen again.

In any case, these countries have learned to be cautious if prices of the materials they sell again rise rapidly, and they are not as likely to find that they have over-extended their purchases when any such future "boom" is over. In any case, the policies these countries adopt are not so dependent in the short run on the policies of the United States as those of the more advanced countries are, and, in any case, can be more optimistic about such policies considering the relative degree of realism with which the

new administration looks at Asian problems and the relative simplicity of Asian problems.

THE EUROPEAN DILEMMA

The European problem of raising production so as to provide a rising standard of living and an approach toward solution of the balance of payments problem and of exporting enough to pay for the imports which make higher production and a rising standard of living and a favorable balance of payments situation possible has seemed to defy solution.

Nothing in the figures available at present indicates that the rearmament drive begun after the outbreak of the Korean war has been anything more than an aggravating factor. The fact is that something evident before June 1950 should have made more of an impression on Europe than it did. The fact that Great Britain was able to cease receiving Marshall Plan pointed to the inescapable conclusion that British policies deserved serious consideration for possible application in the other European countries.

This still is very much the case. And it should be observed that despite much show of leaving "socialism" behind, the Tories have retained the policies formulated in this field of action by the Labor government.

But that is where the dilemma arises, for the Europeans and, to a lesser extent (in terms of emotional intensity), for the new administration.

1. The European dilemma arises because the necessary solutions involve steps the European governments (other than the British government even as constituted at present) don't want to take and because these steps they don't want to take won't be acceptable to the American government even though they may have the results that the American government will want achieved.

2. The American dilemma arises from this fact of desiring results which can be achieved only by means that it dislikes. This may not be a very intense dilemma, however, if the government is taken over by the extreme neo-isolationist elements, for their demand for these results are just for show and the use of means of which they disapprove to achieve them well might be an adequate pretext to "write off" Europe. Even if these elements do not have full control, they will have an influence which will slow down American reactions to any new European economic crisis.

PROBLEM OF ORGANIZATION

The problem arises from the important fact revealed by the United Nations report, though not explicitly stated there: THE EUROPEAN PRODUCTION PROBLEM, IN ITS NATIONAL ASPECT, IS NOT A PRODUCTIVITY PROBLEM BUT, RATHER, A PROBLEM OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLICY. The fact is that there is now unused industrial capacity in the European economy, a varying level of unemployment, and an improving materials situation.

This is indicated further by the fact that unusually liberal tax policies do not have the effect of providing incentives to business elements which is their primary justification. In France, for example, private investment has actually declined since 1950! And, considering limitations imposed by low tax rates (and lax collection procedures), it is not surprising that French government expenditures have not risen significantly in the same period, either.

RESTRICTIVE CAPITALISM

More central control, more progressive tax rates (and stringent enforcement), and a frontal attack on the restrictive policies and institutions of private "government" in the industrial field are among the measures that clearly are necessary in Europe. But the European governments have no stomach for such measures, the Euro-

pean capitalists threaten resistance, and the American government probably will discourage what might appear to be "revolutionary" measures: and so nationalistic squabbles break out to increase the headaches caused by already difficult problem. (One begins to wonder if Stalin hasn't put his finger on a trend—which he, of course, will do his diabolical best to help along—when he talks about increasingly severe conflicts between the western nations in his latest "theoretical" pronouncement. Let us hope that the tendency won't be intensified; it is clear enough who will benefit.)

It won't do to propose solutions which are predicated on drastic shifts in the viewpoints of peoples and governments. Those shifts just don't happen. The most that can be expected is a realization of the relatively permanent nature of the world's economic ills and a determination to meet the recurring—though different—challenges these ills present, on a purely pragmatic basis.

THE SOCIALIST RISK

By way of conclusion, it might be pointed out that, actually, of those people who are ideologically motivated, socialists run the most risk by adherence of world policies to this difficult path. For the "socialistic" measures required for the reorganization of industry and other changes, if accepted, will have been accepted out of necessity and will be associated in the popular mind with times of trouble.

Further, these "socialistic" measures will be of the sort that generate the irritations that inhere in what have been called "bureaucratism" and "statism," enhancing the resistance to a real socialist program once the period of crisis is over.

This is one of the calculated risks in the war against the forces of darkness. At the worst, the cause of social progress will be stymied for some time. But equality of sacrifice on the part of all partners in the alliance of the free and the alternative possibility of descent into the totalitarian abyss demands that the risk be taken.

Prison Reform

(This is the concluding section of an article by Stephen Siteman on the Socialist contribution to prison reform.)

Of the countries in which socialists are or have been strongly organized, capital punishment was abolished in the following: Norway, 1905; Sweden, 1921; Belgium (theoretically exists but has not been imposed since 1863 because the King always grants a reprieve); Holland, 1870; Austria, 1914 but restored in 1938; Luxemburg, Art. 18 of the constitution; Germany, since the war; Finland, no execution since 1826, except under martial law in 1918; Italy, 1899, restored in 1939; New Zealand, September 1941; Spain, 1922 but permitted under a "state of alarm" since Franco's rebellion.

In Canada the CCYM, the youth section, has regularly adopted a resolution calling for the abolition of the death penalty, but such resolutions, submitted to the conventions of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, have always been tabled in favor of resolutions calling for more general reform of conditions.

THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS

Of all the Socialist parties that cooperated in this survey, the Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, the German Socialist party, was the most thorough. Replies were forthcoming from the secretary of the party and one of its members who is director of the women's prison in Hamburg, and the director of all the Hamburg prisons.

(Continued on Page 7)

*World Economic Report, 1950-51.
(New York: United Nations, April 1952).

Democratizing The U.S. Electoral System

By NORMAN THOMAS

(The following statement was given before the Special House Committee to Investigate Campaign Expenditures.)

You are performing a public service by your inquiry in a difficult and important field. We shall not get far in rooting out corruption and improper practices in government, if we cannot find a way more effectively to control campaign expenditures. I hasten to add that I do not think that in presidential campaigns money is used in outright bribery or something equivalent to it.

There is almost no limit to legitimate expenditures. These expenditures cannot be financed without some large gifts and there is no assurance that large gifts are made with no ulterior motive. It is unreasonable to believe that parties and candidates will not

feel some obligation to very generous givers. Unconsciously, at least, they are bound to be somewhat influenced. It is certain under this system that points of view congenial to large givers will be advocated by the recipients of their bounty, out of all proportion to other points of view.

So many (and partially conflicting) are the considerations applicable to legislative action on campaign expenditures that I do not think you can evolve a perfect program. I do not believe that any program will be valuable which does not contain at least these elements:

1) A drastic shortening of the campaign and hence a lessening of the expense and wear and tear on candidates; 2) a centralization of responsibility for the raising and spending of money that is now scattered among innumerable committees; 3) a recognition that it is a public duty for government to provide a minimum of information about parties on the ballot to all registered voters. . . .

APPLIES IN ALL CASES

Some of the points which I shall try to make are, of course, influenced by my concern for the rights of minority parties. But I think I should make them all even if there were only two parties.

Parenthetically, may I say that I believe in the value of a two party system in America and that what I have sought is a political realignment. In order to bring about any political realignment and in the interest both of democracy and justice, new parties or minor parties have a right to be heard under fair conditions. It is better, I agree, to make certain compromises within major parties before an election than to try to set up a coalition cabinet composed of numerous small parties after an election, as happens in France and other countries.

My deep objection to our system is the fact that there is not a guiding principle of division between the two major parties or major coalitions. It is bad for America and democracy that the differences within each party are demonstrably greater than the average differences between them. The best democracy requires responsible party government and that we do not have in America. If we had it, the business of enlightening the electorate would be less difficult and less expensive.

My principal effort as a minor party candidate was not to establish a permanent "third party" but to bring about a realignment which would give us two responsible parties with a major principle of division between them. I do not want to see the expense of campaigns so great that other men cannot even

attempt with more success that at which I failed. In justice to myself and even more my party, may I add that I do not think our failure was complete.

Those social gains which, after some fashion were endorsed even in the Republican platform, and which General Eisenhower asserted were overwhelmingly endorsed by the American people, were emphatically not to be found in the Democratic or Republican platforms of 1928 or '32, but in mine.

What needs investigation in America is not merely campaign expenditures. They are only part of the whole problem. What we ought to do is examine the way we elect a president and correct it. It is, in part, a tribute to the underlying good sense of our people and our parties, and, in part, it is a gift of heaven that we have fared as well as we have with our present machinery.

We spend millions telling the people that they elect a president of the United States but they do this only indirectly. We have no uniform standards of qualifications for voting for the one man who leads us all. There is a dangerously unfair relation between the popular vote and the vote in the electoral college.

Even this year, the electoral college figures will give no true figure of the relative strength of the parties, of the candidates or its geographical distribution. In 1948, a shift of less than 30,000 votes in the right states would have elected Governor Dewey, who would have been more than 2,000,000 votes behind President Truman.

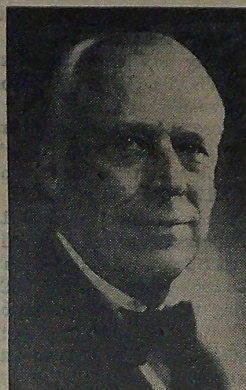
The provision that the winning candidate must have a majority of the electoral college or else the election will go to the House of Representatives where each state, New York and Nevada, has one vote, is an unfair handicap on any new or minor party.

Further to complicate matters, we elect a vice-president who has nothing to do—except to wait for an emergency—which could not be better done otherwise. Usually the vice-president is nominated as an afterthought to please some faction of the party or some region not too well satisfied with the presidential nomination. . . .

DANGEROUS LAG

Under our system the lag between the popular vote and the inauguration of a president is dangerous. Great credit is due Messrs. Truman and Eisenhower for what they are doing to obviate difficulties and to effectuate a smooth transfer of government. But obviously we suffer in leadership and foreign affairs and domestic by the delay.

President Truman, with some force, has expressly stated that he was evading the issue of effective price and wage controls



NORMAN THOMAS

in the coal industry by approving the full wage increase arrived at by collective bargaining so as not unduly to embarrass his successor. I am not arguing the merits of his decision when I say that the principal reason he gives for it ought not to exist. There is no other democracy in the world where there is a similar hiatus between the people's decision at the polls and the beginning of the administration to which they have given a mandate.

Taking into account the pre-convention campaign, we Americans spend about one year out of every four in intense politicking to the hurt of effective government action. Before our political conventions, an Asian diplomat said to me, "I like you Americans and, on the whole, your policies but one year in every four, you make us so nervous. All sorts of politicians say all sorts of things and we don't know what's going to happen."

I am well aware that you are not concerned with possible constitutional amendments, but only with election laws governing expenditures but I think you ought to point out the importance of considering the whole method by which we elect our president.

You are, I am sure, in a position to urge that by law or by agreement, the length of the campaign proper for the presidency should be confined to the period between October 1st and election day. Automatically this would cut expenditures. It would moreover tend to a beneficial change in the way the campaigns are waged. I have long been convinced that the candidates for president owe it to the people to follow the precedent of the Lincoln-Douglas debates.

From six to a dozen debates or discussions between the candidates, carefully arranged in major cities across the country, carried by radio and television and fully reported by the press, would enlighten the voters con-

cerning the positions of the candidates and their parties as they are not enlightened by the torrents of words now poured out. I suppose that may be one of the reasons why no such debates are arranged. I am well aware that the temptation to candidates to try to win by platitudes, generalities, and obscuring issues, in short by seeming to be all things to all men. Nevertheless, the people are entitled to something better.

FOR SHORTER CAMPAIGNS

In a shorter campaign we could expect the presidential candidates to express their own ideas more or less in their own words. I speak from long experience and close observation when I say that it is impossible for any man to make as many speeches as Messrs. Eisenhower and Stevenson made in the last campaign—or as I made in some of my campaigns—and to do a thoroughly good job.

I say this with full knowledge of Governor Stevenson's remarkable achievement in his speeches. . . .

As for myself and presumably other small party candidates our position is different. We can't afford much help—unless we are as relatively well financed as Henry Wallace in 1948. Our speeches aren't widely carried and so we can repeat them in substance at least. Indeed we have to repeat them since our ideas are not already common coin among our hearers.

FOREIGN REACTION

What I am saying is addressed to the argument that long campaigns are necessary to arouse the voters. They are not. Often they have the opposite tendency. Radio and television audiences tend to fall off as the campaigns go on. It is noteworthy that Britain with a campaign limited to four or five weeks and with scarcely any radio or television time, in a general election gets out in excess of 80 per cent of the vote.

We go around congratulating ourselves on our improvement because in 1952 we got out around 68 or 69 per cent of the vote—this after all the tumult, the wasteful expenditures, and the wear and tear on candidates.

It is a tribute to Messrs. Eisenhower and Stevenson and to American travel and electronic facilities that they survive but it is outrageous that we should submit candidates for the most important job in the world to so grueling an ordeal. My first proposal is, then, that the length of the campaign should be cut in half.

My second is that the presidential and vice-presidential candidates should be made personally responsible for centralizing the raising and spending of funds. That is to say, they should designate someone responsible to them whose approval would be necessary before the activity of any committee in raising or spending money would be legal.

This person in each party should be responsible for consolidated reports of receipts and expenditures. He might be the chairman of the party committee or someone especially designated

in whom independent committees would have confidence. He should certainly be in the closest possible touch with the candidates. Only under some such arrangement can any effective limitation on total campaign expenditures or the size of individual gifts be achieved.

My third suggestion is that in a democracy, it is the business of the state through government to see to it that citizens have adequate information on which to vote.

I should therefore require that, as part of the price for the inestimable boon of a license to use one or more of a limited number of air channels, radio and television, companies should be obliged to give X-hours of good listening, and viewing time during the campaign to the two candidates for high office. This is done smoothly and equably now by certain stations in New York and Wisconsin and perhaps elsewhere.

During the campaign, recognition should be given within each state to every party on the ballot of the state but it is not necessary to give equal time to all parties. By far the larger part of the time should go to the major parties and between them, it should be divided equally.

DISTRIBUTE INFORMATION

Beyond that, your committee should consider proposals for joint federal and state action to distribute in some fashion to all registered voters basic information on party platforms and candidates. There is a precedent for this, I believe, in the procedure of the state of Oregon.

If this minimum of information can thus be provided, it would be far rather drastically to limit further expenditures especially in the field of radio and television. I do not think either the public or the companies would object to this limitation, since I am persuaded that much money is wasted now on radio and perhaps on television. Listeners, or prospective listeners are bored, alienated rather than educated.

Limitations should be on the total amount of money to be spent and upon the total size of any individual gift to all committees combined. The present loopholes of the laws should be closed and the laws should be enforced. I have no definite opinion on the precise amount of the maximum but think it might well be in excess of the present sum permitted to party committees.

I doubt if publicity will be sufficient for the control of expenditures.

Finally, may I say that I am trying to view favorably the idea that there should be a commission of eminent citizens which would pass upon charges of libel and slander in campaign literature, after a complaint and impartially publicize the true facts. The mere existence of such a committee might have a salutary effect.

These principles should be applied also to primary campaigns—especially if more and more such campaigns are to determine presidential nominees.

New Myths About Stalin's Russia

By MAX NOMAD

(Max Nomad, author of "Apostles of Revolution" and "Rebels and Renegades," is preparing for publication a "Skeptic's Political Dictionary.")

From time to time a member of America's Sixty Families, or even of the House of Morgan, kicks over the traces and goes out in search of a new religion. In the 1930's one of them, a female poet and daughter of one of J.P.M.'s partners, came out full of enthusiasm for the "wave of the future," a term which she coined to glorify the rising star of Fascism. At about the same time a scion of another partner of the world's top plutocrat began to gain national notoriety by espousing the cause of what is called "Communism."

The collapse of Fascism has put a stop to the outpourings of enthusiasm for the black-brown wave of the future. But the publication of books friendly towards Russia's "noble experiment" has not been stopped and they still find a receptive public. The most recent volume of this kind is Corliss Lamont's "Soviet Civilization." (Philosophical Library, \$5.00.) The book contains 433 pages; but just as it is not necessary to drink an entire barrel of whisky to know its taste, a reader does not have to go beyond one or two chapters and occasional glances into other sections of the volume in order to form an opinion as to the spirit and the purpose of the book.

NOT QUITE AN INNOCENT

There are those who sometimes express their doubts as to our enthusiast's judgment. The basic technique of the book proves that Mr. C. L. is not an innocent. He is fully aware that a one hundred per cent defense of all aspects of the Stalin regime would not achieve its purpose. For it is meant as propaganda not among confirmed Communists, but among middle class liberals. And these are not entirely ignorant of those "dictatorial and repressive aspects of the Soviet regime" by which, to use Lamont's own words, he himself is "repelled" (page XI). So he is ready to admit that there are a few flaws in the beautiful Kremlin edifice.

In speaking about Soviet Russia's "salient weaknesses, such as the state of civil liberties and political democracy," he grants the critics that "the Socialist Republic limps and lags in these two significant criteria of a civilized nation." Well—"limps and lags" is quite an understatement for the absolute suppression of all political activities and of any criticism by any one outside the innermost circle of the Stalinist oligarchy. But Lamont immediately mitigates this admission by appending the following apology for that "weakness": "Despotic practices inherited from Tsardom, the historical Russian pattern of exalting the community above individual rights, the long tradition—fostered by the Orthodox Church—of the principle of unanimous agreement on important issues, the domestic turbulence and hatreds resulting from the greatest revolution in history, the fear and actuality of foreign aggression, and the Marxist theory of proletarian dictatorship have all combined to hold back the evolution of civil liberties and political democracy in the Soviet Union."

So it is simply the Russian-Tsarist national and religious tradition which the poor Communists, in spite of all their Marxism and Leninism, have been unable to overcome during the 35 years since they seized power. Even though the democratic Provisional Government, established upon the downfall of the Tsarist regime, was able to get rid of it during the eight months in the course of which it had to cope both with a German invasion and with the conspiracies of the Bolsheviks.

The fear of foreign aggression as an excuse for the abolition of all liberties is particularly unconvincing, when one considers that all of dem-

ocratic Western Europe is now threatened by a Russian invasion, and that nevertheless none of those countries has either abolished political liberties or even outlawed the Communist parties. Lamont knows, of course, that the only cause "holding back the evolution (!) of civil liberties" in the U.S.S.R. is the regime's fear not of foreign invasion—it has now the strongest army in the world—but of the majority of its own population.

The author knows that the civilized world has not forgotten the Moscow Trials of 1936-1938. So he assures his readers that he has read the verbatim testimony of the trials and that he is convinced that they "were indeed guilty of conspiracy with Trotsky and outright fascist agents to overthrow the Soviet government" (p. 85). However, he gets somewhat mixed up in his sweeping apology for one of the most infamous crimes in history, on a par only with Hitler's mass exterminations. He says that, "since Trotsky, Zinoviev and Bukharin and the others firmly believed that Stalin had betrayed socialism both at home and abroad, they felt justified as revolutionaries in adopting any methods whatsoever to get rid of his regime" (p. 85). The author forgets that, according to both the accusation and the "confessions," they were "guilty" not of trying to save socialism but of helping to establish fascism and capitalism.

CHURCHILL'S BEDFELLOW

Crooked politics making strange bedfellows, Lamont tries to justify that judicial mass murder by a notorious and discredited passage from one of Churchill's war books which allegedly corroborated the guilt of Stalin's victims. Churchill's hatred of Trotsky is well known, and his readiness to resort to the most outrageous distortions—to put it mildly—is well established. (He had hailed Mussolini's seizure of power because he had put a stop to "the bestial appetites of Bolshevism"—even though he knew that at that time there were in Italy no Communists to speak of and that Mussolini's victims were almost exclusively Socialists and Liberals.)

To show his impartiality and detachment Lamont disapproves of the "lamentable and ludicrous step of rewriting history in an endeavor to erase from the records all accounts of the leading role he (Trotsky) played in the 1917 Revolution," etc. It does not occur to him that if Stalin could order such an unheard-of falsification of history, it would stand to reason to assume that no information coming from the one hundred per cent government-owned press and government-published books deserves any credence whatsoever.

Most revealing is the chapter entitled "Contrasts between Soviet Socialism and Fascism." The author tries to disprove the now generally accepted opinion that there is a very close relationship between Fascism and what he chooses to call Soviet Socialism. He insists that the similarity of their methods is no proof whatsoever, just as the fact that both surgeons and murderers resort to knives is no proof that there is any affinity between their professions, for their aims are altogether different. And he goes on to argue that, while the aim of the Nazis is to abolish democracy and to maintain capitalism, the Soviet regime, having destroyed capitalism, was aiming at a higher form of democracy. He thus repeats the myth, long ago exploded by all serious students of Fascism, about the pro-capitalist nature of Fascism, and he has apparently never heard of the anti-capitalism of Argentine's fascist dictator. And he takes at its face value the Soviet Constitution whose hypocritical democratic professions, in his eyes, outweigh the every-day totalitarian practice of the Soviet regime.

STRIKES IN THE SOVIET

Lamont's lack of candor is best illustrated by the way he deals with the question of strikes in

the U.S.S.R. To be sure, the regime was prudent enough not to issue special laws against them in order to avoid criticism on that score, yet it is a matter of general knowledge that strikes are actually treated as capital offenses, at least as far as their leaders are concerned. We have in mind strikes in the Western sense, for higher wages and better conditions in general.

Let us see now what C. L. writes on that subject: "Contrary to the general impression abroad, strikes are not illegal, but are expressly authorized by law as one means of enforcing compliance with labor legislation." In other words, strikes are permitted, not for independent demands of the workers themselves, but against those managers who—for reasons of their own—are disregarding what concessions have been granted to the workers by the government!

The gist of his apology is given on page 238 where he states "ten fundamental differences" between fascism and Sovietism. The Soviet regime, he claims, "stands for evolution to full political democracy" while fascism advocates "permanent dictatorship." In other words he prefers Soviet hypocrisy to fascist cynicism. The U.S.S.R., he continues, stands for "racial democracy and equality instead of racial discrimination and persecution." He has apparently never heard of the persecution and extermination of all those who demand greater autonomy for the Ukraine and other regions inhabited by racial minorities; nor has he apparently heard of the forcible deportation to Siberia of entire nationalities, such as the Crimean Tartars, the Volga Germans, the Chechens, the Ingushes and other ethnical groups of the Caucasus suspected of "disloyalty."

TREATMENT OF NATIONALITIES

He has never heard of the gradual "transfer," likewise to Siberia, of the Latvians and Estonians of the Baltic provinces and of the Jews of the Ukraine; he has never heard of the attacks against the "passportless cosmopolitans" and other manifestations of crypto anti-Semitism which culminated in the shameful display of open Jew-baiting at the trials in Czechoslovakia. He speaks of "equality of sexes," when he knows that contraceptives are practically unobtainable and that as a whole, women are condemned to compulsory child-bearing.

He commends the regime because of "the expansion of the trade unions instead of their destruction," when every student of Russian affairs knows that the Soviet "trade unions" are just as much company unions as the fascist "trade unions." He prattles about "expansion of culture," when the Central Committee of the Communist Party can decide upon purely scientific questions such as genetics, and when artists have to follow the "party line." He raves about the "anti-super-natural philosophy" of a regime which for the cult of the old deities has substituted the deification of the Leader. And he concludes with the statement that the U.S.S.R. stands "for international peace and disarmament instead of war and an armament race." He has apparently never read about the Moscow-Berlin Pact concluded by Stalin in order to enable Hitler to launch World War II, nor has he ever heard of the invasion of Poland, Finland, Southern Korea and the virtual annexation of all Eastern and Central Europe.

A key to the ethical value of the book is supplied by the Introduction written by Henry Pratt Fairchild, a well-known fellow traveler. There the dupes paying \$5.00 for the book are told that "it is clear from the record that Dr. Lamont is not a Communist. His background of family, education and occupation is that of Western capitalism. But he is a student, a scholar, a thinker, a teacher, and a philosopher. And he is an honest man."

Yes, an honest and truthful man. And so is also Professor Fairchild.

The SOCIALIST CALL

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Books In Review

ARROW IN THE BLUE. By Arthur Koestler. Macmillan. \$5.

This, the first section of a three-volume autobiography, is Arthur Koestler at his most erratic. Partly excellent reportage, and partly half-digested psychological and political analysis, the book has a reminiscent quality, largely due to the fact that most of its materials have been used in previous novels and studies by the author. A section on Germany in the early thirties criticizes, in the sharpest terms, the activities of the German Social Democratic Party. This is followed by a description of the steps leading to Koestler's joining the Communist Party. Even all the criticisms of the SPD can be justified, it is difficult to understand how the Communist Party represented superior political wisdom in the period immediately preceding Hitler. Yet, even in retrospect and as a confirmed anti-Stalinist today, Koestler seems to look upon the choice as valid.

INVISIBLE MAN. By Ralph Ellison. Random House. \$4.00.

This is a brilliant first novel, and one which handles a double theme with outstanding talent. It describes the caste structure of the Negro community, and then lays bare the motives of the Communists (called the "brotherhood") in attempting to establish themselves in the New York's Harlem. No other novel has succeeded so well in reaching to the heart of almost every important aspect of contemporary Negro-white relations. What emerges is an authentic sense of the tragic-comic atmosphere that envelops America's most decisive failure in human relations.

HERMAN SINGER

HEAVEN PAYS NO DIVIDENDS. By Richard Kaufmann. Viking. \$3.50.

The author, Richard Kaufmann, was born in Germany in 1914, and grew up and was educated in what appears to be German middle class standards. So does the hero of the book, "Heaven Pays No Dividends," one of the first of the post war novels to come out of Germany. The hero of the book, Roderich Stamm, is the son of a man, who was a minor journalist until the Nazis came to power in 1933, when he has a rapid career in the Foreign Office. The

son, however, continues to study, travel, and even to take part in the Second World War in a desultory fashion. After Germany's collapse, he wanders around the country and is still wandering when the book ends.

The remarkable thing about the story is an almost complete lack of political opinion. There are some generalized comments about the state of mind of Germans in the Thirties but only a casual mention of concentration camps.

If "Heaven Pays No Dividends" is typical of the present generation of German writers, it is a depressing commentary on the gap the Nazis left in that country's cultural life.

STEPHEN SITEMAN

THE RURAL ECONOMY OF NEW ENGLAND. By John D. Black and others. Harvard University Press. \$7.50.

This massive and impressive volume has a far wider scope than its title implies. Besides dealing in detail with the ramifications of agricultural activities in the region, it deals also with the general geographical and economic situation there. And all this is supplemented by a suggested approach to appropriate public policy. In all, this is both an informative and a stimulating piece of work.

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FORUM and Agin' Em

Unionists And Socialists

To the Editor:
Socialists and unions lost something in this election. The Trade Union Movement has lost an era and a way of life. The Socialist Party has lost its political life. The camp of the enemy rings with the sound of rejoicing and the tents of the captains are filled with the plans for further victories. We ask ourselves, "Why?" and "How?" and "What are we to do?"

From all sides I hear the excuses and the railings. I hear the smug predictions and the self-satisfaction of our new Pharisees. The search for a scapegoat goes on apace. But above it all I hear the words of an old Negro Spiritual and its wisdom. "Not my sister nor my brother but me, Oh Lord, Standin' in the need of prayer."

For we have done this awful thing ourselves and we have brought this wrath upon ourselves and this penance belongs to us. Only we can save ourselves.

In the days of long ago there was a Crusade. It was a just and Holy cause that went forth to battle for the dignity of man and right and truth against overwhelming odds. And in those days we won victories and knew it because each step forward was marked plainly by the graves of our martyrs. But we sang as we marched, "Welcome death even gaily—" and we felt the bond of brotherhood and the glow of hearts that are sincere.

But then we were taken up onto the hills by Roosevelt and shown the world and all of us to some degree or another accepted the offer. Today the installments are being paid.

Success became our watchword and our God. All who refused to pay homage to it were heretics and cast out. "We must be practical and realistic." This was the order of the day. And so, the Crusade was put on the shelf and whispers of its existence became synonymous with naughty words. And now someone else took the Crusade down from its shelf, dusted it off and paraded it drunkenly before the American people. We must get it back or truly die.

We organized our unions and made them strong. That is from the outside. We reared a great hollow shell and forgot to furnish it with sacrifice and devotion to duty. We filled our peoples' belly and neglected its soul. We taught them slogans instead of how to think. We rewarded sycophancy and punished courage. We used and abused men and sent them out on useless battles and forgot to tell them when the war was over so that like Uriah they fell and to us came the spoils of their struggles.

We talked about Socialism in a routine fashion and then dedicated our efforts to more "important" things like FEPC, the latest union organizing drive, the abolition of conscription or

the damnation of Soviet Russia. Our bright young men moved on to greener pastures to the din of our applause and for their absence we substituted ritual and the self-satisfying balm of traditionalism.

We must now ask ourselves: "When have WE last inspired a man to dream?" "When have WE last called forth men to sacrifice for a dream?" "When have WE last dreamed?" And then you get the measure of our defeat.

But the American people have saved us from ourselves. They have taken success away from us and they have shown for a fleeting moment how they could cheer even a cheap imitation of a Crusade. In our Union Halls our leaders are cursed and in the public places our Socialist movement is laughed at; for this is the thorny crown of success.

We can go again to the people if we will and tell them the truth which they so desperately want to hear. We can inspire and call forth great deeds if we will only dream again. We can recapture the greatness of the human spirit if we will only show by example. If we seek friends low instead of high and thirst after righteousness we can do battle again and win our dream.

Our mistakes are our greatness and the future is our hope. Let us begin again with a clean slate. Take back our Crusade, put on our shining armor and mount our gallant steeds, the battle is ours if we but will it.

MARK BROWN
Reading, Penna.

Nine Point Plan

To the Editor:

The season of the Socialist wailing wall chest beatings is here again.

First, it is the lack of a complementary factor in the makeup of the party,—a factor that has been submerged by the intellect and genius of the aforementioned group. We need action leaders as well as intellectual leaders.

Instead of stressing election activity (not just lip service to the principle) and stirring up emotions to support the more obvious needs of a strong socialist movement, our national newspaper, the SOCIALIST CALL, kowtows to the intellectual and professional snobs who place analysis above action. Our paper instead of being geared to organizational action is geared to analysis.

That is not bad—IF we had a strong organ emphasizing organizational needs but WE DO NOT have anything but the CALL and a few lesser read papers. We are like the schizophrenic or neurotic who broods so much that there is little time left for action. Yes, I want analysis, good analysis—but in its proper place. It should be a cofeature of action—not the duller of emotions.

Socialist principles and action are based on emotions: First, the love of mankind, second, the belief in democracy and social

justice, third, the belief (and often it comes through emotion rather than deduction on an emotional plane) that democratically planned cooperation and public ownership is not only desirable and practical but possible of achievement in our generation!

We need analysis but not as to what type of role to follow. Items such as whether to be another tail to the Democratic Party, an educational group or an independent political party need to be fought over when they can help—not hinder the party. Such policy decisions should be left for conventions and pre-convention discussions.

Our need is for study of means of implementing not bemoaning our present policies with emphasis on ways of supporting our current stand with criticism of this stand being relegated to non-public discussions in our internal periodicals and meetings and that limited to pre-convention squabbles. We are dedicated to a stand—let's at least give it our full support just as we would if and when the policy were to be changed.

Along these lines I would recommend:

1. Revise our public relations set-up with the general public and get a concentrated campaign going not only to put forth our ideas on political issues but also to present in a more favorable light our organizational structure and functions.

2. Shift the emphasis of our national organ to political action rather than apologetic analysis or else establish a separate "Action" publication.

3. Abandon the use of self-defeating items in our campaigning techniques such as "We can't win but" etc. and instead substitute a spirit of eventual and if possible imminent victory.

4. Emotions do not have to be "Bad"—let's use them but do not of course let them use us.

5. Build up the reputation and prestige of as many individual party members as possible on local and national scenes.

6. Stop ignoring our victories as well as our defeats! Play up our mayors in Milwaukee, Norwalk, Bridgeport, etc., and make the public take notice of the fact that we still have alderman and other municipal officeholders.

7. Stop ignoring the value of local elections. Stress these elections as much as possible between now and 1956.

8. Stop playing dead or dying—if we are to die let's at least do it fighting. It is much better than just getting into a grave and lying there to wait for the shovels to finish the job.

9. Postpone any hasty change in decisions regarding presidential electoral activity until convention time, 1956 to allow a breathing space for analyzing what we can really do if we put our full effort into election action on the local scenes until then.

STANLEY R. BORENSTEIN
Hartford, Conn.

Calling The Shots

War Plus Recession

By HERMAN SINGER

The pessimist, according to the refrain in one of Morris Bishop's poems, is always right. Although this truism was meant to apply to personal human activity, historically it has shown itself most plainly in the business community. The business analysts and economists seem constantly guided by the knowledge that the situation is likely to change, probably for the worse. Even historians of the pre-1929 era, when businessmen generally were convinced that the boom was good for all time, have recently unearthed statements by obscure observers who had been heard muttering darkly that things were getting out of control.

The present boom, which is much more expansive than the one which occurred twenty-five years ago, has differed from the earlier one by the degree of gloom which was largely lacking during the earlier period. At the very point during which profits were reaching unprecedented levels, there was no dearth of voices pointing out that it was too good to last.

Thus, not completely unconsciously, business groups have enjoyed the advantages of both worlds. Although profits have been extraordinarily high, they have been accompanied by the rationalization that the day of reckoning was not too far off. While part of this failure to yield too completely to the pleasures of the boom was undoubtedly the result of a tendency to resist the errors of 1929, it had the additional advantage of preventing a realistic tax on corporate profits, lest such taxes upset the precarious balance of the boom.

While unanimity of opinion by experts is now subject to automatic suspicion, within recent months a body of opinion has arisen which stresses that the boom is reaching its peak, and that the future will see a flattening out of production and profits. The most substantial application of this point of view is presented in the December issue of *Fortune*, and is based on the following analysis:

"The chances have increased that production will ease off within the next three to six months — the odds must now be rated fifty-fifty. A part of the vast volume of current production is still going into the accumulation of extra inventory, and this special demand must inevitably let down. A single month's figures cannot prove how soon this will happen, but in September seasonally adjusted inventories rose by \$500 million — or at a rate of \$65 billion a year. At the end of the steel strike it was estimated that business' extra requirements for inventory would run \$2.5 billion to \$3 billion before the catch-up from the strike was completed and stocks were brought into balance with generally higher level of business in prospect. Thus, at the recent rate of buying, the inventory boomlet will be over by spring. This would pave the way for an eight-point decline in the production index, from the present record (peacetime) levels—225 in September, 226 in October, or 228 in November."

"Of course it is impossible to predict a general turn in business — much less pinpoint the timing and degree — on the basis of a single factor like production for inventory. A general turn, such as has been widely predicted for late 1953 or 1954, depends on much broader factors, e.g., defense spending or capital outlays."

The boom, to be sustained, demands an increase in capital outlays, since the demands for war production have reached their peak, and what is expected is a cut in defense spending. It is here, of course, that a slow down will take place, since no major capital outlays are urgent in view of the heavy inventories already in existence.

What would be necessary to take up the slack would be a vast program of building that would add to the essential wealth of the nation: schools, low-cost housing, highways, valley authorities, dams, and rural electrification, along the lines of the internal development program suggested by Frank Zeidler, Socialist mayor of Milwaukee. Yet it is such a program, especially on a scale likely to have a real impact, which is regarded by the majority of legislators, particularly under a Republican administration, as the rankest socialism. Moreover, conservative local authorities are strengthened in their resistance to such programs by the results of the election.

If a business dip develops as predicted, we may find the new capitalism enacting a new role: conducting a war in the midst of recession.

Will The Du Pont Monopoly Suit Ever Come To Trial?

By GABRIEL GERSH

(Gabriel Gersh is national chairman of the Student League for Industrial Democracy.)

One of the first acts of the Republican administration will probably be to call off the Government's anti-trust suit against the biggest monopoly in America — E. I. du Pont Nemours & Co. Immediately after his designation as Eisenhower's Attorney General, Herbert Brownell said that the du Pont case, among others, is one which the new administration "will be able to review and even to drop" if it decides that such action is "warranted."

Du Pont interests have been under scrutiny since 1949. In the current suit, the government has accused the du Pont family of wielding monopoly power over a "tremendous industrial trinity" composed of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., the General Motors Corporation and the United States Rubber Company. Terming the case a study in the anatomy and psychology of monopoly power, Willis L. Hotchkiss, the government's prosecuting attorney, declared that never before have "so few had such dominant control over so many."

The pattern of monopoly control that the government wants to break up is this: The du Pont family owns 100% of the voting stock in the Delaware and Realty and Investment Company, Delaware, in turn, holds one-third of the voting stock of the Christiana Securities Company. The individual du Ponts also hold directly or in trust another block of about a third of Christiana.

Christiana, in turn, holds more than 3,000,000 shares of the du Pont Company stock. Delaware has about 300,000 more and the individual defendants hold about 500,000. Altogether this is about 35% of the du Pont stock, enough for "unquestioned and complete control," according to Mr. Hotchkiss. The du Pont Company, in turn, owns about 23% of the stock of General Motors, which, Mr. Hotchkiss claims, is enough to give it "complete control" because the remainder is scattered in "relatively small amounts." Members of the family, meanwhile, own 18% of the United States Rubber Company, enough to give it "absolute control."

Mr. Hotchkiss claimed that it was impossible to show the links of the Wilmington Trust Company, another defendant in the anti-trust suit, because the "lines of power" run in every direction. The trust company, he asserted, was used by the family to hold large blocks of stock, including about half of the family holdings of the United States Rubber Company.

THE FINANCE COMMITTEES

Control over the managements of both General Motors and US Rubber is exercised by the du Pont family through the finance committees of both companies. These committees are dominated by the du Ponts and they determine the amount of bonuses that executives of General Motors and US Rubber receive.

In General Motors, for example, a certain percentage of the company profits is paid annually to executives as an incentive bonus. But du Pont people on the finance committee are said to determine which executives will get a bonus and how much. The result is that the managements of both General Motors and US Rubber are very

responsive to du Pont's wishes. One of the most important monopoly charges against du Pont is that these three companies operate a closed market for the benefit of each other and to the detriment of outsiders. General Motors, for example, buys 50% of more of its tires and tubes from US Rubber and most of its fabrics and varnishes from du Pont. Du Pont, in turn, buys most of its trucks and automobiles from General Motors.

Through du Pont influence, US Rubber has sold goods at special and unfair discounts to General Motors and du Pont has sold to General Motors at lower prices than it sells to other customers. In addition, other suppliers of General Motors are pressed into buying their supplies from du Pont.

ENLARGING MARKETS

The effect of this conspiracy is to enlarge the market of each of the three companies at the expense of the other competitors. Du Pont, for instance, did not enter the paint and varnish field on a large scale until after it acquired a stock interest in General Motors. The General Motors market prompted the du Pont expansion. A major complaint is that, by favoring each other, each company was enabled to become large in the field and that each company agreed not to invade the field reserved for any of the others.

What is forgotten nowadays is du Pont's former ties with the Nazis. Until the outbreak of World War II, General Motors owned the Adam Opel automobile industry in Germany, worth more than \$100,000,000. It was one of the largest manufacturers of trucks with which Hitler waged war. When the Nazi government banned the export of capital, General Motors invested

nearly \$20,000,000 in other German industries.

Furthermore, there is ample evidence that the du Ponts betrayed vital military secrets to Hitler. One great pre-war cartel was known as the Dynamit Aktien Gesellschaft (DAG). According to the Nye-Vandenberg Munitions probe before the war, the du Ponts not only owned stock but a voting right in the management of the cartel.

The du Pont agreement with DAG, British Imperial Chemicals and Nazi interests, as published by the Nye-Vandenberg Committee, said in part: "Each party agrees . . . upon making or obtaining any patented invention or discovery or acquiring any secret invention, to disclose in writing to the other party immediately, or in any event within six months thereafter, full particulars." According to Thurman Arnold, the du Ponts and other American companies honored the agreement, while the German companies did not. As a result, Hitler was always informed of the latest American military and scientific developments.

Prosecution of anti-trust suit under a Republican administration is hardly likely. Even when such cases are won, experience proves that it is impossible to reform monopolies by court trials. For as soon as one monopoly is broken, another emerges in its place.

Government ownership is the only scheme to bring a monopoly like du Pont to heel. By nationalizing such a monopoly, the government will be able to eliminate the ravages of its economic power. It would have the virtue of making such a powerful industry responsive to the will of the people and it would be the first step toward a healthier and more abundant society.

"First in War, First in Peace . . ."



NEC Recommends Study Of Alternatives To SP Electoral Action

Full discussion by all sections of the Party of alternatives to electoral action as a means of building socialism in the United States was asked by the National Executive Committee at its regular quarterly meeting held in New York City, Dec. 5-6.

This first meeting of the Committee following the 1952 presidential campaign was occupied largely with a review of the campaign work and results. The conclusion of the NEC, in a statement cited in full below, was that "Socialist electoral activity does not appear to be a fruitful activity for the Party." A minority report called for discussion without coming to any conclusion on the campaign.

In connection with this discussion on the future role of the Party, special issues of "Hammer and Tongs," internal discussion bulletin, will be published. Members and sections of the Party are asked to submit contributions for the first issue to the National Office on or before January 5.

Another major consideration before the NEC was the question of the SOCIALIST CALL, which a subcommittee of the NEC has been studying since the last meeting. The NEC has decided to recommend publication of a monthly magazine to replace the present newspaper format CALL, but is withholding final decision until a more detailed report is made by the committee.

THE SOCIALIST VOTE

Interest in the campaign report centered largely around the Socialist vote. Final totals are not yet known, since in most cases it is necessary to wait until the official count is made and to get the information from the secretaries of state. Preliminary reports made by the national secretary indicate that the final total will be somewhat over 20,000.

The secretary reported also that 31 states were covered in tours by one or both candidates during the campaign, and that the bulk of publicity secured during the campaign came as a result of these tours. The same thing proved true of local radio time. Nationally, each candidate appeared four times on radio and TV hook-ups. The follow-up campaign contacts now being made by the National Office and recommended to all Locals is a drive for subscriptions to the SOCIALIST CALL. Inquiries

were received from every state but Kentucky and Nevada.

NEC members present at the meeting included national chairman Darlington Hoopes, national secretary Robin Myers, Mark Brown, Norman Thomas, Aaron Levenstein, Caleb Smith, Hans Peters, Samuel H. Friedman. Alternates Seymour Steinsapir and Elwood Keppley were seated for members Harvey Taylor and William Briggs. The Young Socialists were represented by Bogdan Denitch.

The next meeting of the committee will be held in Detroit, in March.

ELECTORAL RESOLUTION

The text of the motion on Party perspectives follows:

The NEC has given careful consideration to the conduct and results of the past presidential campaign. It has found with regret that despite some favorable results in terms of publicity and contact for the Party, the campaign has exposed such weakness in the organization that it can no longer cope effectively with problems of getting on the ballot, financing campaign work, and creating a pressure from the left that can have national political influence.

It finds a political situation of absorption in the Democratic Party by labor and liberals which ensures that those people who should be closest to the Socialist Party and the basis of its future strength are most bitterly opposed to the electoral activities of the Party.

And it thus reluctantly concludes that in this total situation, Socialist electoral action does not appear to be a fruitful activity for the Party.

In conveying this opinion to the Party, the NEC asks thorough discussion by the Party of our alternative resources for the building of socialism, putting emphasis upon the educational work that we can do. We also ask consideration of the proposal which some comrades have made, that in the absence of Socialist electoral activity by the Party, members as individuals should

From Labor's History: The Lawrence Strike

By G. D. PROCOPIO

(G. D. Procopio is president of Local 563 of the Shoe Service Union, CIO.)

Forty years ago, in the manufacturing town of Lawrence, Mass., a social upheaval took place which is worth recalling. It stirred the country for almost a year.

Lawrence was one of the many industrial areas in the United States where immigrants from the poorer countries of Europe, at the turn of the century, came in great numbers in the hope of finding work and a better standard of living. But they had to seek employment as isolated individuals, not as unionists. The unions' efforts to organize them were weak, and so sweat-shops, child labor, miserable pay, long hours, and all the other evils of ruthless exploitation were the order of the day.

Human beings, however, never allow themselves to be mercilessly exploited for too long. When they are driven to the wall, they rebel. And that's what happened in Lawrence, Mass., early in 1912. Some 30,000 textile workers, of various nationalities, left their looms and went on strike. Militant members of the Industrial Workers of the World, led by Big Bill Haywood, then also a member of the Socialist Party, were strike leaders. All the forces of "law and order" bitterly resented the daring of the strikers and the "intrusion" of the hated I.W.W., and so the governor of Massachusetts called out the state militia. Lawrence became an armed camp.

ETTOR AND GIOVANNITTI

Among the I.W.W. organizers in the Lawrence strike were Joe Ettore and Arturo Giovannitti, the poet. One evening when these two men were addressing the strikers in a meeting hall, a woman-striker elsewhere was killed by a policeman's bullet. Ettore and Giovannitti were arrested on the trumped-up charge



ARTURO GIOVANNITTI AND JOSEPH J. ETTOR

be free to act electorally in accordance with their Socialist consciences.

We urge the turning of Party attention both to the need for education of the American people and to the urgency for re-evaluation of the application of the principles of socialism to the present political, economic, and social problems of the United States.

We should continue to suggest, with the help of Party sections and utilization of the abilities and experiences of the membership, types of political, though not electoral, action which can influence the direction of this country and the world.

The division on the motion was: For the motion: Hoopes, Keppley, Brown, Thomas, Steinsapir, Levenstein, Myers. Against the motion: Smith, Peters, Friedman. The YS representative supported the majority motion.

of being "accessories before the fact" as was another striker, Giuseppe Caruso, and falsely charged with committing the actual killing. The three were thus liable to death by electrocution.

The strike had received considerable publicity and when news of the three men's arrest became known, it stirred national interest and soon became a cause celebre. Letters and telegrams of protest started to pour into the office of the governor of Massachusetts, meetings were held all over America and in foreign countries, defense committees were organized—radicals, liberals, socialists, and fair-minded persons were up in arms. Sympathetic persons, organized by socialist women in New York, took care of the strikers' children, and money started to flow in from labor unions and other groups and individuals, in order to continue the strike and to de-

fend the prisoners.

Meanwhile the strikers fought on and gave no sign of wavering. After six weeks of struggle, they were rewarded with a complete victory. The woolen barons were forced to concede the strikers' fair demands.

The prosecution of Ettore, Giovannitti and Caruso, however, was bitter and venomous, but the defense was able to expose all the trickery, bias and falseness of the case. Ettore and Giovannitti with their high-minded speeches in self-defense, proved that they were not disorderly men seeking bloodshed, as the law represented them, but idealists who had nothing personal to gain by siding with the Lawrence strikers: they fought in the name of common decency and justice.

The jury was profoundly impressed and freed the prisoners. The working-class had won another hard battle through alertness and solidarity.

go home for weekends and short leaves.

The juveniles have opportunities to work, for which they are paid, to continue or initiate training in some trade or handicraft, and in the cottages, they may use their leisure time in any way they choose.

The educational group leaders and house fathers spend a good deal of time with individuals, in conversation, counselling, instructing, etc., in order to be in close and constant touch with the boys' development. Upon release, the juvenile is assisted in finding a job and lodging, if necessary.

The Belgian Socialists, among the most militant in Europe, have been inactive in the area of penal reform since the death of the venerable Emile Vandervelde. M. Vandervelde, who had a lifelong interest in prison conditions, initiated and carried through many reforms.

Prison Reform

men can only be educated to freedom through freedom and have so arranged their institutions so that an inmate can progress to less and less custody until he is granted weekends and leaves of absence to visit home. Isolation in the cells, says the report, undermines will power.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS

Hamburg has paid special attention to its juvenile offenders. They are separated, not only from the older inmates, but from the rest of the Hamburg penal institutions, in the group of buildings called Hanoefersand on the Elbe Island. Here, the custody ranges from close supervision to small, unlocked cottages, with two or three boys to a room, in which stage, they may

Many members of the SPD, such as Frau Damskowski of Hamburg, are actively concerned with penology and its various problems. Hamburg has long had the reputation of being in the forefront of social measures, not the least of which has been prison reform.

Heinz Putzrath, secretary of the SPD, says that the Party is in general agreement with Hamburg ideas and practices.

After the first world war, Hamburg was first in putting into practice the two cardinal tenets of modern penology: Classification (that is, separating offenders into age, background, and nature of offense groups) and emphasis upon rehabilitation through education and training.

The Hamburg prisons, like some others in Western Europe, have accepted the principle that

The Prague Gallows

Stalin Opens His 'Annexation Purge'

By ROBERT DELL

(Robert Dell is a writer on international affairs who is a close student of Soviet foreign policy.)

Show trials always have a definite and practical purpose in the pattern of Soviet domestic and foreign policy. The "classic" trials in the thirties capped the final consolidation of Stalin's totalitarian power. At the same time they prepared for the shift of policy from collective security against Nazi Germany to the Stalin-Hitler pact.

All indications are that the Prague trials, which is only the beginning in a series covering all Eastern European countries, is the curtain raiser to a vast show, at the climax of which Moscow will annex the People's Democracies. All aspects of the trial—the heavy emphasis on economic sabotage, on spying for the West and the use of the Stalinist brand of anti-semitism—can be viewed as pointers toward this major aim of Soviet strategy.

From an economic viewpoint, annexation is imperative. In 1954-55 the heavy industrial potential of Eastern Europe will be about equal to that of the Soviet Union in 1939. During the last few years the integration of the Polish-Silesian coal and iron center with the South Ukrainian industrial region has made major strides. For all economic purposes state frontiers have disappeared. Heavy industrial planning in Eastern Europe is exclusively in Soviet hands.

Some of the newly built steel mills in Poland and Czechoslovakia are under direct Soviet management. As a result, Eastern European heavy industries have by now become an indispensable part of the Soviet economic strategic system.

The "behind-the-Urals" trend of Soviet heavy industries proper—the Urals and the Siberian region now embrace more than 50 per cent of the entire Soviet heavy industry potential—is being compensated by an expansion to the West, the industrial springboard for a conquest of Western Europe.

However in November of the same year he was himself arrested. Obviously Moscow had come to the conclusion that a purge trial with the "proletarians" Gottwald and Zapotocky as main actors was premature and even dangerous in a country like Czechoslovakia.

Why PRAGUE WAS FIRST
The terrific pace of industrialization was, of course, bound to create a social and political crisis which is now reaching its climax. It had to hit Czechoslovakia first because this country was over industrialized even before the Soviet drive. Hence Prague was the scene of the first Moscow-style trial. All defendants have confessed that their activities led to the economic shortcomings, the tremendous losses of investment capital and the food shortage, which are the unavoidable consequences of Moscow's demands. The announcements from Budapest and Bucharest governments imply that their trials will follow the same pattern.

Why has the Kremlin decided to use as scapegoats for the "annexation purge" the very same Slansky group which directed the coup d'etat of 1948 and was even more Moscow-oriented than the Gottwald-Zapotocky clique? In the spring of 1951 Slansky, then secretary-general of the Communist party and at the peak of his power, prepared the first show trial against the Gottwald-Zapotocky group.

He lured foreign minister Clementis, then pondering whether to become an exile, back to Prague from the UN, and arrested a group of old factional enemies as scapegoats, undoubtedly with the full blessing of Moscow.

MOSCOW AMALGAM

A new "amalgam" of defendants was prepared, with the Slansky group in leading roles and some of the old candidates as supporting cast.

This, of course is not the whole story. Most probably the Kremlin decision to fuse all intelligence services under Beria, NKVD head, and the subsequent liquidation of different competing services decided the fate of the Slansky group too. For Slansky was one of the outstanding henchmen of a Central European espionage network which apparently operated independently of Beria. Another reason may be the dissolution of the Cominform and its replacement by a different set-up, which was indicated by the recent 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

There is no doubt a direct relation between the ousting of the "hero of the Black Sea" Andre Marty from the French Communist Party and the hanging of Slansky. In the Cominform days a change of line was inaugurated by dialectical brainstorms. Now, the Soviet Union having reached its final stages of Stalinist perfection, it is the gallows which reveals that the Master had re-examined the world situation.

THE ANTI-SEMITIC ANGLE

How does the anti-semitic propaganda of the Prague trials fit into this picture? Can it be surmised that it was included in the trials to further long range Soviet policy in the Middle East? It is possible, of course, that such speculations exist in the minds of the Kremlin strategists. The last support for Israel came when Russia permitted the Czechs to sell arms to the Jewish partisans, and voted for the recognition of the Jewish state in the UN. However the Arabs are less interested in anti-semitic propaganda than in direct opposition to Israel.

There is no evidence yet that Moscow is moving toward such a policy in the Near East. From the viewpoint of the Jewish victims of Communist anti-semitism, the difference between the Stalinist and the Hitlerite brand may

POLITICAL DEFINITION

Jewish Communist — A man who scorns his ancestors' dietary laws, and is ready to swallow everything—from the Stalin-Hitler Pact of 1939 to the Prague Trials of 1952.

—Max Nomad

amount to no more than the difference between a gas chamber and a slave labor camp. Still, not to recognize the differences between these two brands of barbarism might lead to misconceptions as to Stalin's purpose in Eastern Europe, and might hamper the fight against it.

Stalinist anti-semitism lacks racial or emotional aspects. It is a cold-blooded and probably limited operation. Were it otherwise, anti-semitism could become a danger for the Stalinist regime itself. In countries like Hungary and Rumania a government-supported anti-semitic drive might become over night a concentration of anti-Sovietism. The half a million Jewish minority in Eastern Europe has come under Stalinist fire not because

of its religion or race but because its social nature makes it unfit for full fledged "citizenship" in the Soviet Empire. During the transition period to full annexation the voice of Eastern European Jewry is to be silenced completely. That's why Zionism has become a "menace" in Stalin's satellite states.

As dreadful as the Jewish tragedy in Eastern Europe is, it must be recognized that there is even more at stake. Raising the Prague gallows means that the Stalinist plague is engulfing the heart of Europe. It is a warning to the West that similar gallows can be erected in Paris and Rome and in every center of European culture, if the West does not understand its portent in time.

Socialist World

Prague Trial Shakes Stalinoids In Mapam Party In Israel

By MEYER MILLER

Prague's anti-Semitic purge trial has aroused Mapai, Israel's Social Democratic Labor Party, into launching an all-out anti-Communist educational campaign. Some 300 lecturers and propagandists of the country's dominant party have volunteered to stump the nation, including immigrants' camps, in an information campaign to acquaint the masses of the people with the true visage of Stalinism.

Meantime, the events in Prague have shaken the most blatantly Stalinoid elements in the fellow-traveling Mapam party, one of whose members, Mordecai Oren, was arrested while on a party mission in Czechoslovakia and played a star role in the trial.

On Nov. 29, for the first time since Mapam was founded a few years ago, no political article was published in Al Hamishmar, the party daily, by Dr. Moshe Sneh, leader of the hitherto dominant, strictly Cominformist wing. Now the less Stalinized groups, such as Achdut Avodah and Left Poale Zion, feel they have a better chance of influencing the party rank and file away from the Hashomer-Hatzair-Sneh group, and consequently are postponing their splitting away, which had seemed inevitable.

Incidentally, even before the Czech trial began, the youth section of Histadrut, the labor federation, decided to quit the Communist-controlled "World Federation of Democratic Youth."

A significant step toward improving Israeli-Arab relations was made by the Histadrut Council at its last meeting when it decided to admit Arab workers directly into Histadrut trade union organizations on the basis of full equality and equal rights with Jewish workers. A resolution to this effect was passed by

the council unanimously. Arab workers now will be admitted to all social institutions of the Histadrut, and will be registered in the General Labor Exchanges instead of in special Arab exchanges as hitherto.

Presumably, this eventually should lead to the full merger into Histadrut of the Israel Labor League, composed of some 10,000 Arab workers associated with Histadrut.

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